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The History Of The Life Of M. Tullius Cicero

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Sect. XI.

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S E C T. XI.

THE entire defeat of Antony's army made all people presently imagine, that the war was at an end, and the liberty of Rome established : which would probably have been the case, if Antony had either perished in the action, or the Consuls survived it : but the death of the Consuls, though not felt so sensibly at first, in the midst of their joy for the victory, gave the fatal blow to all Cicero's schemes ; and was the immediate cause of the ruin of the Republic¹. Hirtius was a man of letters and politeness ; intimately intrusted with Cæsar's counsels, and employed to write his acts : but as he was the proper creature of Cæsar, and strongly infected with party, so his views were all bent on supporting the power that had raised him, and serving his Patron, not the public. In the beginning therefore of the civil war, when he was Tribune of the people, he published a law, to exclude all, who were in arms with Pompey, from any employment or Office in the state² : which made him particularly obnoxious to the Pompeians, who considered him as their most inveterate enemy. Pansa, whose Father had been proscribed by Sylla³, was attached with equal zeal to Cæsar, as to the head and reviver of the Marian cause ; and served him in all his wars with singular affection and fidelity ; he was a grave, sincere,

A. Urb. 710.

Cic. 64.

and worthy man; and being naturally more moderate and benevolent than Hirtius, was touched with the ruin of his country, and the miseries of the oppressed Pompeians; many of whom he relieved by his humanity; and restored by his interest to the City and their estates⁴. This made him very popular, and gained him the esteem of all the honest; so that Cassius, in defending his Epicurism to Cicero, alledges Panfa, as an example of those genuine Epicureans, who placed their pleasure or chief good in virtuous acts⁵. Before their entrance into the Consulship, Quintus Cicero gave a most wretched account of them both; "as of a lewd, luxurious pair; not fit to be trusted with the command of a poultry Town, much less of the Empire;" and says, "that if they were not removed from the helm, the Republic would certainly be lost; since Antony would easily draw them into a partnership of his crimes; for when he served with them in Gaul, he had seen incredible instances of their effeminacy and debauchery, in the face even of the enemy."— But we must charge a great part of this character to the peevishness and envy of Quintus: for whatever they had been before, they were certainly good Consuls; and out of their affection to Cicero, and regard to his authority, governed themselves generally in all great affairs, by his maxims. They were persuaded, that the design of revenging Cæsar's death would throw the Republic again into convulsions; and flowed from no other motive, than the ambition of possessing Cæsar's place; and

resolved therefore to quell by open force all attempts against the public peace. From their long adherence to Cæsar, they retained indeed some prejudices in favor of that party ; and were loth to proceed to extremities, till pacific measures were found ineffectual. This gave Cicero some reason to blame, but never to distrust them ; to complain of their phlegm and want of vigor, as detrimental to the common cause : yet while they were generally suspected by others, he always thought them sincere, though they did not in all cases act up to his wishes. The event confirmed his judgment of them : for they both not only exposed, but lost their lives with the greatest courage in the defence of the Republic ; and showed themselves to be the very men, which Cicero had constantly affirmed them to be ; and though he imputes some little blame to Hirtius, yet of Pansa, he declares, that he wanted neither courage from the first, nor fidelity to the last ?

If they had lived to reap the fruits of their victory, their power and authority would have been sufficient to restrain Octavius within the bounds of his duty ; and sustain the tottering Republic, till Brutus and Cassius could arrive to their assistance ; and Plancus and D. Brutus unite themselves in the same cause, and give it a firm establishment in their Consulship of the next year : all whose armies, together with the African Legions, were far superior to any force that could have been brought against them. But the death of the two Consuls placed Octavius at

once above control, by leaving him the master of both their armies : especially of all the veterans ; who were disaffected to D. Brutus, and could not be induced to follow him : and it fell out so lucky and apposite to all Octavius's views, as to give birth to a general persuasion, that they had received foul play, and were both of them killed by his contrivance ; for he was observed to be the first man who took up Hirtius's body in the Camp ; where some imagined him to have been killed by his own soldiers ; and Panfa's Physician, Glyco, was actually thrown into Prison by Torquatus, Panfa's Quæstor, upon a suspicion of having poisoned his wounds^a. But the chief ground of that notion seems to have lain in the fortunate coincidence of the fact with the interests of Octavius : for M. Brutus thought it incredible, and in the most pressing manner begged of Cicero, to procure Glyco's enlargement, and protect him from any harm ; as being a worthy, modest man, incapable of such a villany ; and who, of all others, suffered the greatest loss by Panfa's death^b.

Cicero was soon aware of the dangerous turn which this event was likely to give to their affairs ; and within a day or two after the news, intimates his apprehension of it to Brutus : " Young Cæsar," says he, " has a wonderful disposition to virtue : I wish that I may govern him as easily, in all this height of honor and power, as I have hitherto done : the thing is now much harder ; yet I do not despair of it : for the youth is persuaded, and chiefly by

“ me, that we owe our present safety to him:
“ and in truth, if he had not at first driven
“ Antony from the City, all had been lost ¹⁰.”
But as he found Octavius grow daily more and more untractable, so he began to exhort and implore Brutus in every Letter, to bring his army into Italy, as the only thing which could save them in their present circumstances: and to enforce his own authority, he procured a vote also of the Senate, to call him home with his Legions to the defence of the Republic ¹¹.

At Rome, however, the general rejoicings stifled all present attention to the loss of their Consuls; and Antony's friends were so dejected for some time, that they gave Cicero no more opposition in the Senate: where he poured out all imaginable honors on the deceased, Hirtius, Panfa and Aquila; decreed an ovation to Caesar; and added a number of days to their Thanksgiving, in honor of D. Brutus: whose deliverance happening to fall upon his birth-day, he decreed likewise, that his name should be ascribed ever after to that day, in the Fasti or public Kalendars, for a perpetual memorial of the victory. Antony's adherents were also declared enemies: in which number Servilius himself included Ventidius; and moved to give Cassius the command of the war against Dolabella; to whom Cicero joined Brutus, in case that he should find it useful to the Republic ¹².

The decree of an Ovation to Octavius was blamed by Brutus and his friends ¹³: yet seems to have been wisely and artfully designed: for

while it carried an appearance of honor, it would regularly have stript him of his power, if he had made use of it: since his commission was to expire of course, and his army to be dissolved, upon his first entrance into the City: but the confusion of the times made laws and customs of little effect with those who had the power to dispense with them.

The Commanders abroad were so struck with Antony's defeat, that they redoubled their assurances to Cicero of their firmness and zeal for the common cause. Lepidus especially, who had suffered two of his Lieutenants, Silanus and Culleo, to carry succours to Antony at Modena, labors to excuse it in a civil and humble strain, and to persuade Cicero, "that they had done it against
" his orders; and though, for their former relation
" to him, he was unwilling to punish them with
" the last severity, yet he had not since employed
" or received them even into his Camp. He acquaints him, that Antony was arrived in his
" Province, with one Legion, and a great multitude of men unarmed, but with all his Horse,
" which was very strong; and that Ventidius
" had joined him with three Legions: that he
" was marching out against him with all his
" forces; and that many of Antony's Horse and
" Foot daily deserted him. — That for himself,
" he would never be wanting in his duty to the
" Senate and the Republic — thanks him for not
" giving credit to the false reports which were
" spread of him: and above all, for the late honors

“ that he had decreed to him — begs him to expect
 “ every thing from him, which could be expected
 “ from an honest man, and to take him under his
 “ special protection “.”

Pollio still more explicitly, “ that there
 “ was no time now for loitering, or expecting
 “ the orders of the Senate — that all who wished
 “ to preserve the Empire, and the very name of
 “ the Roman people, ought to lend their present
 “ help — That nothing was more dangerous, than
 “ to give Antony leisure to recollect himself. —
 “ That for his part, he would neither desert nor
 “ survive the Republic — was grieved only for
 “ his being at such a distance that he could not
 “ come so soon as he wished to its relief, &c. “.”

Plancus sent word, “ that he was taking
 “ all possible care to oppress Antony, if he
 “ came into that country. — That if he came
 “ without any considerable body of troops, he
 “ should be able to give a good account of
 “ him, though he should be received by Lepidus;
 “ or if he brought any force with him, would
 “ undertake that he should do no harm in those
 “ parts, till they could send him succours suffi-
 “ cient to destroy him — that he was then
 “ in a treaty with Lepidus, about uniting their
 “ forces in the same cause, by the mediation of
 “ Laterensis and Furnius; nor would be hin-
 “ dered by his private quarrel with the man, from
 “ concurring with his greatest enemy in the
 “ service of the commonwealth “.” In an-
 other Letter he speaks with great contempt of

“Antony’s shattered forces, though joined with those of Ventidius, the Mule-driver, as he calls him; and is confident, that if he could have met with them, they would not have stood an hour before him.”

The Conquerors at Modena were much censured in the mean time for giving Antony leisure to escape: but Octavius from the beginning had no thoughts of pursuing him: he had already gained what he aimed at; had reduced Antony’s power so low, and raised his own so high, as to be in condition to make his own terms with him in the partition of the Empire; of which he seems to have formed the plan from this moment: whereas if Antony had been wholly destroyed, together with the Consuls, the Republican party would have probably been too strong for him and Lepidus; who, though Master of a good army, was certainly a weak General: when he was pressed therefore to pursue Antony, he contrived still to delay it, till it was too late; taking himself to be more usefully employed, in securing to his interests the troops of the Consuls.

Cicero was particularly disgusted at Antony’s escape; and often expostulates upon it with D. Brutus: he tells him, “that if Antony should ever recover strength again, all his great services to the Republic would come to nothing — it was reported,” says he, “at Rome, and all people believed it, that he was fled with a few unarmed, dispirited men; and himself almost broken-hearted: but if it

be

" be so with him, as I hear it is, that you can-
 " not fight him again without danger; he does
 " not seem to have fled from Modena, but to
 " have changed only the seat of the war.
 " Wherefore men are now quite different from
 " what they were: some even complain that
 " you did not pursue him; and think that he
 " might have been destroyed, if diligence had
 " been used: such is the temper of people, and
 " above all of ours, to abuse their liberty against
 " those by whom they obtained it; it is your
 " part, however, to take care that there be no
 " real ground of complaint. The truth of the
 " case is, he who oppresses Antony, puts an
 " end to the war. What the force of that is,
 " it is better for you to consider, than for me
 " to write more explicitly ".

D. Brutus, in his answer, gives him the
 reasons why he could not follow Antony so soon
 as he wished: " I had no horse, " says he, " no
 " carriages; did not know that Hirtius was killed;
 " had no confidence in Cæsar, before I met and
 " talked with him; thus the first day passed. The
 " next morning early I was sent for by Panfa to
 " Bononia; but on the road met with an account
 " of his death: I ran back to my little army; for
 " so I may truly call it: it is extremely reduced,
 " and in sad condition for want of all things: so
 " that Antony gained two days of me, and made
 " much greater journeys in flying, than I could
 " in pursuing; for his troops went straggling;
 " mine in order. Wherever he passed, he opened

" all the prisons, carried away the men, and stopt
 " no where till he came to the Fords. This place
 " lies between the Appennine and the Alps; a
 " most difficult country to march through: when
 " I was thirty miles from him, and Ventidius had
 " already joined him, a copy of his speech was
 " brought to me, in which he begs of his soldiers
 " to follow him cross the Alps; and declares, that
 " he acted in concert with Lepidus: but the
 " soldiers cried out, especially those of Ventidius,
 " for he has very few of his own that they would
 " either conquer or perish in Italy; and began
 " to beg, that he would go to Pollentia: when he
 " could not over-rule them, he put off his march
 " to the next day. Upon this intelligence, I pre-
 " sently sent five Cohorts before me to Pollentia,
 " and followed them myself with the army: my
 " detachment came to the place an hour before
 " Trebellius, with Antony's Horse: this gave me
 " an exceeding joy; for I esteem it equal to a
 " victory, &c."

In another Letter he says, " that if Cæsar
 " would have been persuaded by him to cross
 " the Appennine, he could have reduced Antony
 " to such straits, that he must have been destroyed
 " by want rather than the sword: but that they
 " could neither command Cæsar, nor Cæsar his
 " own troops; both which circumstances were very
 " bad, &c." This authentic account from
 D. Brutus confutes two facts which are delivered
 by an old Historian, and generally received by all
 the moderns; first, that Octavius, after the victory,

refused to have any conference with D. Brutus; and that Brutus, for that reason, forbade him to enter his Province, or to pursue Antony: secondly, that Panfa, in his last moments, sent for Octavius, and advised him to an union with Antony against the Senate²². For it is evident, that on the very day of the victory, there was actually a conference between the two first; which passed in so amicable a manner, as to ease Brutus of the jealousy which he had before conceived of Octavius: and Panfa's death happened so early the next morning, that it left no room for the pretended advice and speech which is made for him to Octavius: especially since it appears on the contrary, that instead of Octavius, Panfa really sent for D. Brutus, when he found himself dying, as if disposed rather to communicate something for the service of that cause, in which he had lost his life. But both the stories were undoubtedly forged afterwards, to save Octavius's honor, and give a better color to that sudden change of measures, which from this hour he was determined to pursue²³.

C. Antony was still a prisoner with M. Brutus, whose indulgence gave him an opportunity of practising upon the soldiers, and raising a sedition in the Camp, which created no small trouble to Brutus. The soldiers, however, soon repented of their rashness, and killed the authors of it; and would have killed Antony too, if Brutus would have delivered him into their hands: but he could not be induced to take his life, though

this was the second offence of the same kind ; but pretending , that he would order him to be thrown into the Sea , sent him to be secured on ship-board , either from doing or suffering any farther mischief ²⁴ : of which he wrote an account to Cicero , who returned the following answer.

“ As to the sedition in the fourth Legion about
“ C. Antony , you will take what I say in good
“ part ; I am better pleased with the severity of
“ the soldiers than with yours. I am extremely
“ glad that you have had a trial of the affection
“ of your Legions and the Horse — as to what
“ you write , that I am pursuing the Antonys
“ much at my ease , and praise me for it ; I
“ suppose you really think so : but I do not by any
“ means approve your distinction , when you say ,
“ that our animosity ought to be exerted rather in
“ preventing civil wars , than in revenging ourselves
“ on the vanquished. I differ widely from you ,
“ Brutus , not that I yield to you in clemency ;
“ but a salutary severity is always preferable to
“ a specious show of mercy. If we are so fond
“ of pardoning , there will be no end of civil
“ wars : but you are to look to that : for I can
“ say of myself , what Plautus’s old man says in
“ the Trinummus ; life is almost over with me ;
“ it is you who are the most interested in it. You
“ will be undone , Brutus , believe me , if you do
“ not take care ; for you will not always have the
“ people , nor the Senate , nor a Leader of the
“ Senate , the same as now. Take this , as from

" the Pythian Oracle ; nothing can be more
" true " . "

Brutus's wife , Porcia , notwithstanding the tragical story which the old writers have dressed up , of the manner of her killing herself upon the news of her husband's unhappy fate ²⁶ , died most probably about this time at Rome of a lingering illness. She seems to have been in a bad state of health when Brutus left Italy , where she is said to have parted from him with the utmost grief and floods of tears , as if conscious that she was taking her last leave of him : and Plutarch says , that there was a Letter of Brutus extant in his days , if it was genuine , in which he lamented her death , and complained of his friends for neglecting her in her last sickness : this , however , is certain , that in a Letter to Atticus , he gives a hint of Porcia's indisposition , with a slight compliment to Atticus for his care of her ²⁷ : and the following Letter of condolence to him from Cicero , can hardly be applied to any other occasion but that of her death.

Cicero to Brutus.

" I should perform the same office which you
" formerly did in my loss , of comforting you by
" Letter , did I not know that you cannot want
" those remedies in your grief , with which you
" relieved mine. I wish only that you may now
" cure yourself more easily than at that time you
" cured me : for it would be strange in so great a

“ man as you, not to be able to practise what he
“ had prescribed to another. As for me, not only
“ the reasons which you then collected, but your
“ very authority deterred me from indulging my
“ sorrow to excess. For when you thought me to
“ behave myself, with greater softness than became
“ a man, especially one who used to comfort
“ others, you chid me with more severity than
“ it was usual for you to express: so that, out of
“ a reverence to your judgment, I roused myself:
“ and by the accession of your authority, took
“ every thing that I had learnt or read, or heard
“ on that subject, to have the greater weight. Yet
“ my part, Brutus, at that time was only to act
“ agreeably to duty and to Nature: but your’s,
“ as we say, is to be acted on the stage, and before
“ the people. For when the eyes, not only of
“ your army, but of all the City, nay, of all the
“ world, are upon you, it is wholly indecent for
“ one, by whom we other mortals are made the
“ stouter, to betray any dejection or want of
“ courage. You have suffered, indeed, a great
“ loss; (for you have lost that, which has not
“ left its fellow on earth) and must be allowed to
“ grieve under so cruel a blow; left to want all
“ sense of grief should be thought more wretched
“ than grief itself: but to do it with moderation,
“ is both useful to others, and necessary to yourself.
“ I would write more, if this was not already too
“ much: we expect you and your army: without
“ which, though all other things succeed to our
“ wishes, we shall hardly ever be free “.”

As the time of chusing Magistrates now drew on, and particularly of filling up the Colleges of Priests, in which there were many vacancies; so Brutus was sending home many of his young Nobles to appear as Candidates at the election; the two Bibulus, Domitius, Cato, Lentulus, whom he severally recommends to Cicero's protection. Cicero was desirous that his son also should come with them, to be elected a Priest; and wrote to Brutus, to know his mind about it; and, if he thought proper, to send him away immediately; for though he might be chosen in absence, yet his success would be much easier if he was present²⁹. He touches this little affair in several of his Letters; but finding the public disorders increase still every day, he procured the election of Priests to be thrown off to the next year: and Brutus having sent him word in the mean while, that his son had actually left him, and was coming towards Rome, he instantly dispatched a messenger, to meet him on the road, with orders to send him back again, though he found him landed in Italy: since nothing, he says, could be more agreeable either to himself, or more honorable to his son, than his continuance with Brutus³⁰.

Not long after the battle of Modena, the news of Dolabella's defeat and death from Asia, brought a fresh occasion of joy to Cicero, and his friends at Rome. Dolabella, after his success against Trebonius, having pillaged that Province of it's money, and of all things useful for war, marched forward to execute his grand

design upon Syria; for which he had been making all this preparation: but Cassius was beforehand with him, and having got possession of that Country, and of all the armies in it, was much superior to him in force. Dolabella, however, made his way with some success through Cilicia, and came before Antioch in Syria, but was denied admittance into it; and after some vain attempts to take it, being repulsed with loss, marched to Laodicea; which had before invited, and now opened it's gates to him. Here Cassius came up with him, and presently invested the place: where, after he had destroyed Dolabella's fleet, in two or three naval engagements, he shut him up closely by sea, as well as land: till Dolabella, seeing no way to escape, and the Town unable to hold out any longer, killed himself, to prevent his falling alive into Cassius's hands, and suffering the same treatment, which he had shown to Trebonius: but Cassius generously ordered his body to be buried, with that of his Lieutenant Octavius, who killed himself also with him."

D. Brutus was now at last pursuing Antony, or rather observing the motions of his flight: he had with him, besides his own forces, the new Legions of the late Consuls, while all the Veterans put themselves under the command of Octavius: so that after Antony was joined by Ventidius with three Legions, Brutus was hardly strong enough either to fight with him, or, what he rather aimed at, to hinder his crossing

the Alps to Lepidus. He desired Cicero therefore, to write to Lepidus, not to receive him, though he was sure, he says, that Lepidus would never do any thing that was right; and wishes likewise, that Cicero would confirm Plancus; since by some of Antony's papers, which fell into his hands, he perceived, that Antony had not lost all hopes of him; and thought himself sure of Lepidus and Pollio. Of which he gave Plancus immediate notice, and signified, that he was coming forward with all expedition to join with him ³². But he complains much in all his Letters, of his want of money, and the sad condition of his army; which was not contemptible for the number, but the kind of his troops; being of the most part, new raised men, bare and needy of all things ³³. "I cannot," says he, "maintain my soldiers any longer. When I first undertook to free the Republic, I had above three hundred thousand pounds of my own in money: but now am so far from having any thing, that I have involved all my friends in debt for me. I have seven Legions to provide for; consider with what difficulty: had I the treasures of Varro, I could not support the expense ³⁴." He desired therefore a present supply of money, and some Veteran Legions, especially the fourth and Martial which continued still with Octavius. This was decreed to him readily with the Senate, at the motion of Drusus and Paulus, Lepidus's

brother": but Cicero wrote him word, "that
 "all, who knew those Legions the best, affirm-
 "ed, that they would not be induced by any
 "terms to serve under him: that money, how-
 "ever, should certainly be provided for him"—
 and concludes by observing, "that if Lepidus
 "should receive Antony, it would throw them
 "again into great difficulties: but that it was
 "Brutus's part, to take care that they should
 "have no cause to fear the event: for as to
 "himself, that he could not possibly do more,
 "than he had already done: but wished to see
 "D. Brutus the greatest and most illustrious
 "of men".

Plancus, as it is hinted above, was carrying
 on a negotiation with Lepidus, to unite their
 forces against Antony: it was managed on Plan-
 cus's side by Furnius; on Lepidus's, by Laterensis,
 one of his Lieutenants; a true friend to the Re-
 public, and zealous to engage his General to his
 interests; and Lepidus himself dissembled so well,
 as to persuade them of his sincerity; so that Plan-
 cus was marching forward in great haste to join
 with him; of which he gave Cicero a particular
 account.

Plancus to Cicero.

"After I had written my Letters, I thought
 "it of service to the public, that you should be
 "informed of what has since happened. My di-
 "ligence, I hope, has been of use both to myself

“ and to the Commonwealth: for I have been
“ treating with Lepidus by perpetual messages;
“ that laying aside all former quarrels, he would
“ be reconciled, and succour the Republic in
“ common with me, and show more regard to
“ himself, his children, and the City, than to a
“ desperate abandoned Robber; in which case he
“ might depend on my service and assistance for
“ all occasions: I transacted the affair by Laterensis.
“ He pawned his faith, that if he could not keep
“ Antony out of his Province, he would pursue
“ him, by open war; begged that I would come
“ and join forces with him, and so much the more,
“ because Antony was said to be strong in Horse;
“ whereas Lepidus’s could hardly be called indif-
“ ferent: for not many days before, even out of
“ his small number, ten, who were reckoned his
“ best, came over to me. As soon as I was in-
“ formed of this, I resolved without delay, to
“ support Lepidus in the execution of his good
“ intentions: I saw, of what benefit my joining
“ him would be, either for pursuing and destroying
“ Antony’s Horse with mine, or for correcting
“ and restraining, by the presence of my army,
“ the corrupt and disaffected part of Lepidus’s.
“ Having made a bridge therefore in one day
“ over the Isere, a very great river in the territory
“ of the Allobroges, I passed with my army on
“ the twelfth of May: but having been informed
“ that L. Antony was sent before with some Horse
“ and Cohorts to Forum Julii, I had sent my bro-
“ ther the day before with four thousand Horse

" to meet with him, intending to follow myself
 " by great journeys with four Legions, and the
 " rest of my Horse, without the heavy baggage.
 " If we have any tolerable fortune for the Republic, we shall here put an end to the audaciousness of the desperate; and to all our own trouble: but if the Robber, upon hearing of my arrival, should run back again into Italy, it will be Brutus's part to meet with him there: who will not be wanting, I know either in counsel, or courage, but if that should happen, I will send my brother also with the Horse, to follow and preserve Italy from being ravaged by him. Take care of your health, and love me as I love you." —

But Lepidus was acting all the while a treacherous part being determined at all hazards to support Antony; and though he kept him at a distance for some time, and seemed to be constrained at last by his own soldiers to receive him; yet that was only to save appearances, till he could do it with advantage and security to them both: his view in treating with Plancus was probably to amuse and draw him so near to them, that when he and Antony were actually joined, they might force him into the same measures, without his being able to help it, or to retreat from them. When he was upon the point therefore of joining camps with Antony, he sent word to Plancus, who was within forty miles of him, to stay where he then was, till he should come up to him: but Plancus suspecting nothing, thought it

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better still to march on; till Laterensis, perceiving how things were turning, wrote him word in all haste, that neither Lepidus nor his army were to be trusted; and that he himself was deserted; exhorting "Plancus to look to himself, lest he should be drawn into a Snare, and to perform his duty to the Republic; for that he had discharged his faith, by giving him this warning, &c.³⁸."

Plancus gave Cicero a particular account of all these transactions; he acquaints him, "that Lepidus and Antony joined their camps on the twentieth of May, and the same day marched forward towards him: of all which he knew nothing, till they were come within twenty miles of him: that upon the first intelligence of it, he retreated in all haste; repassed the Isere, and broke down the bridges which he had built upon it, that he might have leisure to draw all his forces together, and join them with his Colleague D. Brutus, whom he expected in three days — that Laterensis, whose singular fidelity he should ever acknowledge, when he found himself duped by Lepidus, laid violent hands upon himself; but being interrupted in the act, was thought likely to live — he desires that Octavius might be sent to him with his forces; or if he could not come in person, that his army, however, might be sent, since his interest was so much concerned in it — that as the whole body of the rebels was now drawn into one Camp, they ought to act against them with the whole force of the Republic, &c.³⁹."

The day after his union with Antony, Lepidus wrote a short Letter to the Senate, wherein, he calls the gods and men to witness, that he had nothing so much at heart as the public safety and liberty; of which he should shortly have given them proofs, had not fortune prevented him: for that his soldiers, by a general mutiny and sedition, had plainly forced him to take so great a multitude of Citizens under his protection. He beseeches them, that laying aside all their private grudges, they would consult the good of the whole Republic; nor in a time of civil dissension treat his clemency, and that of his army, as criminal and traitorous^o.

D. Brutus on the other hand joined his army with Plancus, who acted with him for some time with great concord, and the affection of the whole Province on their side: which being signified in their common Letters to Rome, gave great hopes still and courage to all the honest there. In a Letter of Plancus to Cicero, "you know," says he, "I imagine, the state of our forces: in my camp there are three veteran Legions, with one new, but the best of all others of that sort: in Brutus's, one veteran Legion, another of two years standing, eight of new levies: so that our whole army is great in number, little in strength: for what small dependence there is in a fresh soldier, we have oft experienced to our cost. If the African troops, which are veteran, or Cæsar's should join us, we should willingly put all to the hazard of a battle: as I saw Cæsar's

“ to be the nearest, so I have never ceased to
“ press him, nor he to assure me that he would
“ come instantly, though I perceive that he had
“ no such thought, and is quite gone off into
“ other measures: yet I have sent our friend
“ Furnius again to him, with Letters and in-
“ structions, if he can possibly do any good
“ with him. You know, my dear Cicero, that
“ as to the love of young Cæsar, it belongs to
“ me in common with you: for on the account
“ either of my intimacy with his uncle when
“ alive, it was necessary for me to protect and
“ cherish him; or because he himself, as far as
“ I have been able to observe, is of a most
“ moderate and gentle disposition; or that af-
“ ter so remarkable a friendship with C. Cæsar,
“ it would be a shame for me not to love him,
“ even as my own child, whom he had adopted
“ for his son. But what I now write, I write
“ out of grief, rather than ill-will: that An-
“ tony now lives: that Lepidus is joined with
“ him; that they have no contemptible army;
“ that they have hopes, and dare pursue them,
“ is all entirely owing to Cæsar. I will not re-
“ cal what is long since passed: but if he had
“ come at the time, when he himself declared
“ that he would, the war would have been ei-
“ ther now ended, or removed, to their great
“ disadvantage, into Spain, a Province utterly
“ averse to them. What motive, or whose coun-
“ sels drew him off from a part so glorious, nay,
“ so necessary too, and salutary to himself, and

" turned him so absurdly to the thoughts of a
 " two months Consulship, to the terror of all
 " people, I cannot possibly comprehend. His
 " friends seem capable of doing much good on
 " this occasion, both to himself and the Republic;
 " and above all others, you; to whom he has
 " greater obligations than any man living,
 " except myself; for I shall never forget that I am
 " indebted to you for the greatest. I have given
 " order to Furnius to treat with him on these
 " affairs; and if I had as much authority with
 " him as I ought, should do him great service.
 " We in the mean time have a very hard part to
 " sustain in the war: for we neither think it safe
 " to venture a battle, nor yet by turning our backs,
 " to give the enemy an opportunity of doing
 " greater mischief to the Republic: but if either
 " Cæsar would regard his honor, or the African
 " Legions come quickly, we shall make you all
 " easy from this quarter. I beg you to continue
 " your affection to me, and assure yourself that
 " I am strictly yours ⁴¹."

Upon the news of Lepidus's union with Antony, the Senate, after some little time spent in considering the effect of it, being encouraged, by the concord of D. Brutus and Plancus, and depending on the fidelity of their united forces, voted Lepidus an enemy, on the thirtieth of June; and demolished the gilt statue, which they had lately erected to him; reserving still a liberty to him and his adherents of returning to their duty by the first of September ⁴². Lepidus's wife was

M. Brutus's sister; by whom he had sons, whose fortunes were necessarily ruined by this vote, which confiscated the Father's estate: for which reason Servilia, their grandmother, and Cassius's wife, their aunt, solicited Cicero very earnestly, either that the decree itself might not pass, or that the children should be excepted out of it: but Cicero could not consent to oblige them: for since the first was thought necessary, the second followed of course: he gave Brutus, however, a particular account of the case by Letter.

Cicero to Brutus.

" Though I was just going to write to you
" by Messala Corvinus, yet I would not let our
" friend Vetus come without a Letter. The
" Republic, Brutus, is now in the utmost dan-
" ger, and after we had conquered, we are
" forced again to fight, by the perfidy and mad-
" ness of M. Lepidus. On which occasion,
" when for the care, with which I have charged
" myself, of the Republic, I had many things
" to make me uneasy, yet nothing vexed me
" more, than that I could not yield to the
" prayers of your mother and sister; for I ima-
" gined, that I should easily satisfy you, on
" which I lay the greatest stress. For Lepi-
" dus's case could not by any means be distin-
" guished from Antony's; nay in all people's
" judgment, was even worse; since after he
" had received the highest honors from the

“ Senate and but a few days before had sent an
“ excellent Letter to them; on a sudden, he
“ not only received the broken remains of our
“ enemies, but now wages a most cruel war
“ against us by land and sea; the event of which
“ is wholly uncertain. When we are desired
“ therefore to extend mercy to his children, not
“ a word is said, why, if their Father should
“ conquer, (which the Gods forbid) we are
“ not to expect the last punishment from him.
“ I am not ignorant how hard it is, that
“ Children should suffer for the crimes of their
“ Parents: but it was wisely contrived by the
“ laws, that the love of their Children should
“ make Parents more affectionate to their Coun-
“ try. Wherefore it is Lepidus who is cruel
“ to his children, not he, who adjudges Lepi-
“ dus an enemy: for if, laying down his arms,
“ he were to be condemned only of violence,
“ in which no defence could be made for him,
“ his children would suffer the same calamity
“ by the confiscation of his estate. Yet what
“ your mother and sister are now soliciting
“ against, in favor of the children, the very
“ same and much worse, Lepidus, Antony,
“ and our other enemies are at this very mo-
“ ment threatening to us all. Wherefore our
“ greatest hope is in you and your army: it is
“ of the utmost consequence both to the Re-
“ public in general, and to your honor and
“ glory in particular, that, as I wrote to you
“ before, you come as soon as possible into

“ Italy : for the Republic is in great want not
 “ only of your forces, but of your counsels. I
 “ served Vetus with pleasure, as you desired
 “ me, for his singular benevolence and duty to
 “ you: I found him extremely zealous and af-
 “ fectionate both to you and the Republic: I
 “ shall see my Son, I hope very soon; for I
 “ depend on his coming with you quickly to
 “ Italy “. ”

Brutus, before he had received this Letter,
 having heard from other friends, what they were
 designing at Rome against Lepidus, wrote about
 the same time, and on the same subject to Cicero.

Brutus to Cicero.

“ Other people’s fears oblige me to entertain
 “ some apprehensions myself on Lepidus’s account:
 “ if he should withdraw himself from us, (which
 “ will prove, I hope, a rash, and injurious sus-
 “ picion of him) I beg and beseech you, Cicero,
 “ conjuring you by our friendship and your affec-
 “ tion to me, to forget that my sister’s children
 “ are Lepidus’s sons, and to consider me in the
 “ place of their Father. If I obtain this of you,
 “ you will not scruple, I am sure, to do whatever
 “ you can for them. Other people live differently
 “ with their friends : but I can never do enough
 “ for my sister’s children, to satisfy either my
 “ inclination or my duty. But what is there, in
 “ which honest men can oblige me, (if in reality
 “ I have deserved to be obliged in any thing) or

“ in which I can be of service to my mother,
“ sister, and the boys; if their uncle Brutus has
“ not as much weight with you and the Senate,
“ to protect, as their Father Lepidus, to hurt
“ them? I feel so much uneasiness and indignation,
“ that I neither can, nor ought to write more fully
“ to you: for if, in any case so important and
“ so necessary, there could be any occasion for
“ words, to excite and confirm you, there is no
“ hope that you will do what I wish, and what
“ is proper. Do not expect therefore any long
“ prayers from me: consider only what I am:
“ and that I ought to obtain it; either from
“ Cicero, a man the most intimately united with
“ me; or without regard to our private friendship,
“ from a consular Senator of such eminence: pray
“ send me word, as soon as you can, what you
“ resolve to do. July the first.”

Cicero perceiving from this Letter, what he had no notion of before, how great a stress Brutus laid on procuring this favor for his Nephews, prevailed with the Senate to suspend the execution of their act, as far as it related to them, till the times were more settled.”

Lepidus and Antony were no sooner joined, than a correspondence was set on foot between them and Octavius; who from the death of the Consuls, showed but little regard to the authority of Cicero, or the Senate; and wanted only a pretence for breaking with them. He waited, however, a while, to see what became of Antony; till finding himself received and supported by Lepidus,

he began to think it his best scheme, to enter into the league with them; and to concur in what seemed to be more peculiarly his own part, the design of revenging the death of his Uncle. Instead therefore of prosecuting the war any farther, he was persuaded by his friends to make a demand of the Consulship, though he was not yet above twenty years old. This step shocked and terrified the City; not that the Consulship could give him any power, which his army had not already given; but as it indicated a dangerous and unseasonable ambition, grounded on a contempt of the laws and the Senate; and above all raised a just apprehension of some attempt against the public liberty: since, instead of leading his army, where it was wanted and desired, against their enemies abroad, he chose to march with it towards Rome, as if he intended to subdue the Republic itself.

There was a report spread in the mean while through the Empire, that Cicero was chosen Consul: Brutus mentioning it in a Letter to him, says, If I should ever see that day, I shall then begin to figure to myself the true form of a Republic, subsisting by its own strength⁴⁶. It is certain, that he might have been declared Consul; by the unanimous suffrages of the people, if he had desired it; but in times of such violence, the title of supreme Magistrate without a real power to support it, would have exposed him only to more immediate danger and insults from the soldiers; whose fastidious insolence in their demands, was grown, as he complains, insupportable⁴⁷. Some

old writers say, what the moderns take implicitly from them, that he was duped, and drawn in by Octavius, to favor his pretensions to the Consulship, by the hopes of being made his Colleague, and governing him in the office". But the contrary is evident from several of his Letters; and that of all men, he was the most averse to Octavius's design, and the most active in dissuading him from pursuing it. Writing upon it to Brutus, "as to Cæsar," says he, "who has been governed hitherto by my advice, and is indeed of an excellent disposition, and wonderful firmness, some people by most wicked Letters, messages, and fallacious accounts of things, have pushed him to an assured hope of the Consulship: as soon as I perceived it, I never ceased admonishing him in absence, nor reproaching his friends, who are present, and who seem to encourage his ambition: nor did I scruple to lay open the source of those traitorous counsels in the Senate: nor do I ever remember the Senate and the Magistrates to have behaved better on any occasion: for it never happened before in voting an extraordinary honor to a powerful, or rather most powerful man, (since power is now measured by force and arms) that no Tribune, or any other magistrate, nor so much as a private Senator would move for it: yet in the midst of all this firmness and virtue, the City is greatly alarmed: for we are abused, Brutus, both by the licentiousness of the soldiers, and the insolence of the general. Every one demands, to

“ have as much power in the state, as he has
 “ means to extort it : no reason, no moderation,
 “ no law, no custom, no duty is at all regarded ;
 “ no judgment or opinion of the Citizens ; no
 “ shame of posterity , &c. ” .

What Cicero says in this Letter , is very remark-
 able , that in all this height of young Cæsar's
 power, there was not a Magistrate, nor so much
 as a single Senator, who would move for the
 decree of his Consulship : the demand of it there-
 fore was made by a deputation of his officers ; and
 when the Senate received it more coldly than they
 expected , Cornelius, a Centurion, throwing back
 his robe and showing them his sword, boldly
 declared, that if they would not make him Con-
 sul, that should. But Octavius himself soon put
 an end to their scruples, by marching with his
 legions in an hostile manner to the City ; where
 he was chosen Consul with Q. Pedius his Kins-
 man, and coheir in part of his Uncle's estate, in
 the month of Sextilis, which, on the account of
 this fortunate beginning of his honors, was called
 afterwards from his own surname, Augustus ” .

The first act of his Magistracy was, to secure
 all the public money, which he found in Rome,
 and make a dividend of it to his soldiers. He
 complained loudly of the Senate, “ that instead
 “ of paying his army the rewards, which they
 “ had decreed to them, they were contriving to
 “ harass them with perpetual toils, and to engage
 “ them in fresh wars against Lepidus and Antony :
 “ and likewise, that in the commission granted to

A. Urb. 710.
 Cic. 64.
 Coff.
 C. CÆSAR.
 OCTAVIA-
 NUS.
 Q. PEDIUS.

"ten Senators, to provide lands for the Legions
"after the war, they had not named him".
But there was no just grounds for any such complaint; for those rewards were not decreed, nor intended to be distributed, till the war was quite ended; and the leaving Cæsar out of the commission, was not from any particular slight but a general exception of all, who had the command of armies, as improper to be employed in such a charge; though Cicero indeed was of a different opinion, and pressed for their being taken in. D. Brutus and Plancus were excluded as well as Cæsar; and both of them seem likewise to have been disgusted at it; so that Cicero, who was one of the number, in order to retrieve the imprudence of a step, which gave such offence, would not suffer his Colleagues to do any thing of moment, but reserved the whole affair to the arrival of Cæsar and the rest".

But Cæsar, being now wholly bent on changing sides and measures, was glad to catch at every occasion of quarrelling with the Senate: he charged them, with calling him a boy, and treating him as such"; and found a pretext also against Cicero himself, whom after all the services received from him, his present views obliged him to abandon: for some busy informers had told him, that Cicero had spoken of him in certain ambiguous terms, which carried a double meaning, either of advancing, or taking him off — which Octavius was desirous to have reported every where, and believed in the worst sense. D. Brutus gave Cicero the first notice of it in the following Letter.

D. Brutus, Emperor, Consul Elect to M.
T. Cicero.

“ What I do not feel on my own account, my
“ love and obligations to you make me feel on
“ yours; that is, fear. For after I had been
“ often told, what I did not wholly flight, Labeo
“ Segulius, a man always like himself, just now
“ informs me, that he has been with Cæsar, where
“ there was much discourse on you: that Cæsar
“ himself had no other complaint against you,
“ but for a certain saying, which he declared to
“ have been spoken by you; that the young man
“ was to be praised, adorned, taken off”; but
“ he would not be so silly, he said, as to put it
“ into any man’s power to take him off. This, I
“ dare say, was first carried to him, or forged by
“ Segulius himself, and did not come from the
“ young man. Segulius had a mind likewise to
“ persuade me, that the Veterans talk most angrily
“ against you; that you are in danger from them;
“ that the chief cause of their anger is, because
“ neither Cæsar nor I am in the commission of the
“ ten, but all things transacted by your will and
“ pleasure: upon hearing this, though I was
“ then upon my march, I did not think it proper
“ to pass the Alps, till I could first learn, how
“ matters were going amongst you, &c.”

To this Cicero answered:

“ The Gods confound that Segulius, the greatest
“ knave, that is, or was, or ever will be. What,

“ do you imagine, that he told his story only to
 “ you, and to Cæsar? he told the same to every
 “ soul, that he could speak with: I love you,
 “ however, my Brutus, as I ought; for acquaint-
 “ ing me with it, how trifling soever it be: it is
 “ a sure sign of your affection. For as to what
 “ Segulius says, of the complaint of the Veterans,
 “ because you and Cæsar were not in the com-
 “ mission: I wish, that I was not in it myself;
 “ for what can be more troublesome? but when
 “ I proposed, that those, who had the command
 “ of armies, should be included in it; the same
 “ men, who used to oppose every thing, remon-
 “ strated against it; so that you were excepted,
 “ wholly against my vote and opinion, &c. ”

As for the story of the words, he treats it, we
 see, as too contemptible to deserve an apology,
 or the pains of disclaiming it; and it seems indeed
 incredible, that a man of his prudence could ever
 say them. If he had harboured such a thought,
 or had been tempted on any occasion to throw out
 such a hint, we might have expected to find it
 in his Letters to Brutus: yet on the contrary he
 speaks always of Octavius, in terms highly advan-
 tageous, even where he was likely to give disgust
 by it. But nothing was more common than to
 have sayings forged for him, which he had never
 spoken; and this was one of that sort; contrived
 to instil a jealousy into Octavius, or to give him
 a handle at least for breaking with Cicero, which,
 in his present circumstances, he was glad to lay
 hold of: and when the story was once become

public, and supposed to have gained credit with Octavius, it is not strange to find it taken up by the writers of the following ages, Velleius and Suetonius; though not without an intimation from the latter of its suspected credit⁹⁸.

While the City was in the utmost consternation on Cæsar's approach with his army, two Veteran Legions from Africa happened to arrive in the Tiber, and were received as a succour sent to them from heaven; but this joy lasted not long; for presently after their landing, being corrupted by the other foldiers, they deserted the Senate, who sent for them, and joined themselves to Cæsar. Pollio likewise, about the same time, with two of his best Legions from Spain, came to the assistance of Antony and Lepidus; so that all the Veterans of the western part of the Empire were now plainly forming themselves into one body, to revenge the death of their old General. The consent of all these armies, and the unexpected turn of Antony's affairs, staggered the fidelity of Plancus, and induced him also at last, to desert his Colleague D. Brutus, with whom he had hitherto acted with much seeming concord: Pollio made his peace, and good terms for him with Antony and Lepidus; and soon after brought him over to their Camp with all his troops.

D. Brutus being thus abandoned and left to shift for himself, with a needy, mutinous army; eager to desert, and ready to give him up to his enemies, had no other way to save himself, than by flying to his name-fake in Macedonia: but the

distance was so great, and the country so guarded, that he was often forced to change his road, for fear of being taken; till having dismissed all his attendants, and wandered for some time alone in disguise and distress, he committed himself to the protection of an old acquaintance and host, whom he had formerly obliged; where, either through treachery or accident, he was surpris'd by Antony's soldiers, who immediately killed him, and returned with his head to their General⁹.

Several of the old writers have reproach'd his memory with a shameful cowardice in the manner of suffering his death; unworthy of the man who had killed Cæsar, and commanded armies. But their accounts are so various, and so inconsistent with the character of his former life, that we may reasonably suspect them to be forged by those, who were dispos'd to throw all kinds of contumely on the murderers of Cæsar¹⁰.

But what gave the greatest shock to the whole Republican party, was a law contriv'd by Cæsar, and published by his Colleague Pedius, to bring to trial and justice all those, who had been concerned, either in advising, or effecting Cæsar's death: in consequence of which, all the conspirators were presently impeach'd in form by different accusers; and as none of them ventured to appear to their citations, they were all condemn'd of course; and by a second law interdicted from fire and water: Pompey also, though he had born no part in that act, was added to the number, as an irreconcilable enemy to the Cæsarian cause: after

which, Cæsar, to make amends for the unpopularity of his law, distributed to the Citizens the Legacies which his Uncle had left them by will¹.

Cicero foresaw, that things might possibly take this turn, and Plancus himself prove treacherous; and for that reason was constantly pressing Brutus and Cassius to hasten to Italy, as the most effectual means to prevent it: every step that Cæsar took, confirmed his apprehensions, and made him more importunate with them to come, especially after the union of Antony and Lepidus. In his Letters to Brutus, "Fly to us," says he, "I beseech you, and exhort Cassius to the same; for there is no hope of liberty but from your troops". "If you have any regard for the Republic, for which you were born, you must do it instantly; for the war is renewed by the inconstancy of Lepidus; and Cæsar's army, which was the best, is not only of no service to us, but even obliges us to call for your's: as soon as ever you touch Italy, there is not a man, whom we can call a Citizen, who will not immediately be in your Camp. We have D. Brutus indeed happily united with Plancus: but you are not ignorant, how changeable men's minds are, and how infected with party, and how uncertain the events of war: nay, should we conquer, as I hope we shall, there will be a want of your advice and authority to settle all affairs. Help us therefore for God's sake; and as soon as possible; and assure yourself, that you did not

“ do a greater service to your Country on the Ides
“ of March, when you freed it from slavery, than
“ you will do by coming quickly “.”

After many remonstrances of the same kind, he wrote also the following Letter.

Cicero to Brutus.

“ After I had often exhorted you by Letters
“ to come as soon as possible to the relief of the
“ Republic, and bring your army into Italy, and
“ never imagined, that your own people had any
“ scruples about it ; I was desired by that most
“ prudent and diligent woman, your Mother, all
“ whose thoughts and cares are employed on you,
“ that I would come to her on the twenty-fourth
“ of July; which I did, as I ought, without
“ delay. When I came, I found Casca, Labeo,
“ and Scaptius with her. She presently entered
“ into the affair, and asked my opinion, whether
“ we should send for you to Italy; and whether
“ I thought it best for you to come, or to continue
“ abroad. I declared, what I took to be the most
“ for your honor and reputation, that without
“ loss of time you should bring present help to
“ the tottering and declining state. For what
“ mischief may not one expect from that war,
“ where the conquering armies refused to pursue
“ a flying enemy; where a General unhurt, unprovoked,
“ possessed of the highest honors, and the
“ greatest fortunes, with a wife, children, and
“ near relation to you, has declared war against

“ the Commonwealth? I may add, where in so
“ great a concord of the Senate and People, there
“ resides still so much disorder within the walls;
“ but the greatest grief which I feel, while I am
“ now writing, is to reflect, that when the
“ Republic had taken my word for a youth, or
“ rather a boy, I shall hardly have it in my power,
“ to make good what I promised for him. For it
“ is a thing of much greater delicacy and moment,
“ to engage oneself for another’s sentiments and
“ principles, especially in affairs of importance,
“ than for money: for money may be paid, and
“ the loss itself be tolerable; but how can you
“ pay what you are engaged for to the Republic,
“ unless he, for whom you stand engaged, will
“ suffer it to be paid? yet I am still in hopes, to
“ hold him; though many are plucking him away
“ from me: for his disposition seems good, though
“ his age be flexible: and many always at hand
“ to corrupt him; who, by throwing in his way the
“ splendor of false honor, think themselves sure
“ of dazzling his good sense and understanding.
“ Wherefore to all my other labors this new one
“ is added, of setting all engines at work to hold
“ fast the young man, lest I incur the imputation
“ of rashness. Though what rashness is it after all?
“ for in reality, I bound him for whom I was
“ engaged, more strongly than myself: nor has
“ the Republic as yet any cause to repent, that I
“ was his sponsor: since he has hitherto been the
“ more firm and constant in acting for us, as well
“ from his own temper, as for my promise. The

“greatest difficulty in the Republic, if I mistake
“not, is the want of money: for honest men
“grow every day more and more averse to the
“name of Tribute; and what was gathered from
“the hundredth penny, where the rich are
“shamefully rated, is all spent in rewarding the
“two Legions. There is an infinite expense upon
“us, to support the armies, which now defend
“us; and also yours; for our Cassius seems likely
“to come sufficiently provided. But I long to
“talk over this, and many other things with you
“in person: and that quickly. As to your sister’s
“children, I did not wait, Brutus, for your
“writing to me: the times themselves, since the
“war will be drawn into length, reserve the whole
“affair to you: but from the first, when I could
“not foresee the continuance of the war, I pleaded
“the cause of the children in the Senate, in a
“manner, which you have been informed of, I
“guess, by your mother’s Letters: nor can there
“ever be any case, where I will not both say
“and do, even at the hazard of my life, whatever
“I think agreeable either to your inclination, or to
“your interest. The twenty-sixth of July.”

In a Letter likewise to Cassius, he says, “we
“wish to see you in Italy, as soon as possible;
“and shall imagine, that we have recovered the
“Republic, when we have you with us. We
“had conquered nobly, if Lepidus had not
“received the routed, disarmed, fugitive, Antony:
“wherefore, Antony himself was never so odious
“to the City, as Lepidus is now: for he began

" a war upon us from a turbulent state of things;
" this man from peace and victory. We have the
" Consuls elect to oppose him: in whom indeed
" we have great hopes; yet not without an
" anxious care for the uncertain events of battles.
" Assure yourself therefore, that all our depend-
" ence is on you, and your Brutus; that you
" are both expected, but Brutus immediately,
" &c. " "

But after all these repeated remonstrances of Cicero, neither Brutus nor Cassius seem to have entertained the least thought of coming with their armies to Italy. Cassius indeed, by being more remote, could not come so readily, and was not so much expected as Brutus? who, before the battle of Modena, had drawn down all his legions to the sea-coast, and kept them at Apollonia and Dyrrhachium, waiting the event of that action, and ready to embark for Italy, if any accident had made his assistance necessary; for which Cicero highly commends him ". But upon the news of Antony's defeat, taking all the danger to be over, he marched away directly to the remotest parts of Greece and Macedonia, to oppose the attempts of Dolabella; and from that time seemed deaf to the call of the Senate, and to all Cicero's letters, which urged him so strongly to come to their Relief. It is difficult at this distance to penetrate the motives of his conduct: he had a better opinion of Lepidus, than the rest of his party had; and being naturally positive, might affect to slight the apprehensions of Lepidus's treachery,

which was the chief ground of their calling so earnestly for him. But he had other reasons also, which were thought to be good; since some of his friends at Rome, as we may collect from Cicero's Letter, were of a different mind from Cicero, on the subject of his coming. They might suspect the fidelity of his troops; and that they were not sufficiently confirmed and attached to him, to be trusted in the field against the Veterans, in Italy; whose example and invitation, when they came to face each other, might possibly induce them to desert, as the other armies had done, and betray their commanders. But whatever was their real motive, D. Brutus, who was the best judge of the state of things at home, was entirely of Cicero's opinion: he saw himself surrounded with Veteran armies, disaffected to the cause of liberty; knew the perfidy of Lepidus: the ambition of young Cæsar; and the irresolution of his Colleague Plancus; and admonished Cicero therefore in all his Letters, to urge his namesake to hasten his march to them⁶⁷. So that on the whole, it seems reasonable to believe, that if Brutus and Cassius had marched with their armies towards Italy, at the time when Cicero first pressed it, before the defection of Plancus, and the death of Decimus, it must have prevented the immediate ruin of the Republic.

The want of money, of which Cicero complains at this time, as the greatest evil that they had to struggle with, is expressed also very strongly in another Letter to Cornificius, the

Proconsul of Africa; who was urging him to provide a fund for the support of his Legions:

"As to the expense", says he, "which you have made, and are making in your military preparations, it is not in my power to help you; because the Senate is now without a head, by the death of the Consuls, and there is an incredible scarcity of money in the treasury; which we are gathering, however, from all quarters, to make good our promises to the troops, that have deserved it of us; which cannot be done, in my opinion, without a tribute". This tribute was a sort of capitation tax, proportioned to each man's substance, but had been wholly disused in Rome, from the conquest of Macedonia by Paulus Æmilius, which furnished money and rents sufficient to ease the city ever after of that burden, till the necessity of the present times obliged them to renew it". But from what Cicero intimates of the general aversion to the revival of it, one cannot help observing the fatal effects of that indolence and luxury, which had infected even the honest part of Rome: who, in this utmost exigency of the Republic, were shocked at the very mention of an extraordinary tax; and would not part with the least share of their money, for the defence even of their liberty: the consequence of which was, what it must always be in the like case, that by starving the cause, they found not only their fortunes, but their lives also soon after at the mercy of their enemies. Cicero

has a reflection in one of his speeches, that seems applicable also to the present case, and to be verified by the example of these times. "The Republic", says he, "is attacked always with greater vigor, than it is defended: for the audacious and profligate, prompted by their natural enmity to it, are easily impelled to act upon the least nod of their leaders: whereas the honest, I know not why, are generally slow and unwilling to stir; and neglecting always the beginnings of things, are never roused to exert themselves, but by the last necessity: so that through irresolution and delay, when they would be glad to compound at last for their quiet, at the expense even of their honor, they commonly lose them both".

This observation will serve to vindicate the conduct of Cassius, from that charge of violence and cruelty, which he is said to have practised, in exacting money and other necessaries from the Cities of Asia. He was engaged in an inexorable war, where he must either conquer, or perish with the Republic itself, and where his Legions were not only to be supported but rewarded: the revenues of the Empire were exhausted; contributions came in sparingly; and the states abroad were all desirous to stand neuter; as doubtful of the issue, and unwilling to offend either side. Under these difficulties where money was necessary, and no way of procuring it but force, extortion became lawful; the necessity of the end justified the means; and when the safety of the

Empire, and the liberty of Rome were at stake, it was no time to listen to scruples. This was Cassius's way of reasoning, and the ground of his acting; who applied all his thoughts to support the cause, that he had undertaken; and kept his eyes, as Appian says, wholly fixed upon the war, as a Gladiator upon his Antagonist⁷¹.

Brutus, on the other hand, being of a temper more mild and scrupulous, contented himself generally with the regular methods of raising money; and from his love of Philosophy, and the politer studies, having contracted an affection for the Cities of Greece, instead of levying contributions, used to divert himself, wherever he passed, with seeing their games and exercises, and presiding at their philosophical disputations; as if travelling rather for curiosity, than to provide materials for a bloody war⁷². When he and Cassius therefore met, the difference of their circumstances showed the different effects of their conduct. Cassius, without receiving a penny from Rome, came rich and amply furnished with all the stores of war; Brutus, who had received large remittances from Italy, came empty and poor, and unable to support himself without the help of Cassius; who was forced to give him a third part of that treasure, which he had been gathering with so much envy to himself for the common service⁷³.

While Cicero was taking all this pains, and struggling thus gloriously in the support of their expiring liberty, Brutus, who was naturally peevish

and querulous, being particularly chagrined by the unhappy turn of affairs in Italy, and judging of counsels by events, was disposed at last to throw all the blame upon him; charging him chiefly, that, by a profusion of honors on young Cæsar, he had inspired him with an ambition, incompatible with the safety of the Republic, and armed him with that power, which he was now employing to oppress it: whereas the truth is, that by those honors Cicero did not intend to give Cæsar any new power, but to apply that, which he had acquired by his own vigor, to the public service and the ruin of Antony: in which he succeeded even beyond expectation; and would certainly have gained his end, had he not been prevented by accidents, which could not be foreseen. For it is evident from the facts above-mentioned, that he was always jealous of Cæsar, and instead of increasing, was contriving some check to his authority, till by the death of the Consuls, he slipped out of his hands, and became too strong to be managed by him any longer. Brutus, by being at such a distance, was not well apprized, of the particular grounds of granting those honors; but Decimus, who was all the while in Italy, saw the use and necessity of them, and seems to hint in some of his Letters, that they ought to have decreed still greater⁷⁴.

But whatever Brutus, or any one else may have said, if we reflect on Cicero's conduct, from the time of Cæsar's death to his own, we shall find it in all respects uniform, great and

glorious ; never deviating from the grand point, which he had in view , the liberty of his country : whereas , if we attend to Brutus's , we cannot help observing in it , something strangely various and inconsistent with itself. In his outward manners and behaviour , he affected the rigor of a Stoic , and the severity of an old Roman ; yet by a natural tenderness and compassion , was oft betrayed into acts of an effeminate weakness. To restore the liberty of his country , he killed his Friend and Benefactor ; and declares , that for the same cause he would have killed even his Father " : yet he would not take Antony's life , though it was a necessary sacrifice to the same cause. When Dolabella had basely murdered Trebonius , and Antony openly approved the act , he could not be persuaded to make reprisals on C. Antony : but through a vain ostentation of clemency , suffered him to live , though with danger to himself. When his brother-in-law Lepidus was declared an enemy , he expressed an absurd and peevish resentment of it , for the sake of his nephews , as if it would not have been in his power to have repaired their fortunes , if the Republic was ever restored : or if not , in their Father's. How contrary is this to the spirit of that old Brutus , from whom he derived his descent , and whom in his general conduct he pretended to imitate ? He blames Cicero for dispensing honors too largely , yet claims an infinite share of them to himself ; and when he had seized by his private authority , what the Senate , at

Cicero's motion, confirmed to him, the most extraordinary command, which had been granted to any man: he declares himself an enemy to all extraordinary commissions, in what hands soever they were lodged": this inconsistency in his character would tempt us to believe, that he was governed in many cases by the pride and haughtiness of his temper, rather than by any constant and settled Principles of Philosophy, of which he is commonly thought so strict an observer.

Cicero, however, notwithstanding the peevishness of Brutus, omitted no opportunity of serving and supporting him to the very last: as soon as he perceived Cæsar's intention of revenging his Uncle's death, he took all imaginable pains to dissuade him from it, and never ceased from exhorting him by Letters to a reconciliation with Brutus, and the observance of that amnesty, which the Senate had decreed, as the foundation of the public peace. This was certainly the last service, which he could do, either to Brutus, or the Republic; and Atticus imagining that Brutus would be pleased with it, sent him a copy of what Cicero had written on that subject: but instead of pleasing, it provoked Brutus only the more: he treated it as base and dishonorable, to ask any thing of a boy, or to imagine the safety of Brutus to depend on any one but himself: and signified his mind upon it, both to Cicero and Atticus in such a style, as confirms what Cicero had long before observed,

and more than once declared of him, that his Letters were generally churlish, unmannerly and arrogant; and that he regarded neither what, or to whom he was writing". But their own Letters to each other will be the best vouchers of what I have been remarking, and enable us to form the surest judgment of the different spirit and conduct of the men. After Brutus therefore had frequently intimated his dissatisfaction and dislike of Cicero's management, Cicero took occasion, in the following Letter, to lay open the whole progress of it, from the time of Cæsar's death, in order to show the reasonableness and necessity of each step.

Cicero to Brutus.

" You have Messala now with you. It is not
" possible therefore for me to explain by Letter,
" though ever so accurately drawn, the present
" state of our affairs so exactly as he, who not
" only knows them all more perfectly, but can
" describe them more elegantly than any man :
" for I would not have you imagine, Brutus,
" (though there is no occasion to tell you, what
" you know already yourself, but that I cannot
" pass over in silence such an excellence of all
" good qualities :) I would not have you imagine,
" I say, that for probity, constancy and zeal for
" the Republic, there is any one equal to him;
" so that eloquence, in which he wonderfully ex-
" cels, scarce finds a place among his other

“ praises : since even in that, his wisdom shines the
“ most eminent, by his having formed himself
“ with so much judgment and skill to the truest
“ manner of speaking. Yet his industry all the
“ while is so remarkable, and he spends so much
“ of his time in study, that he seems to owe but
“ little to his parts, which still are the greatest.
“ But I am carried too far by my love for him :
“ for it is not the purpose of this Epistle to praise
“ Messala, especially to Brutus, to whom his
“ virtue is not less known, than to myself ; and
“ these very studies, which I am praising, still
“ more ; whom when I could not part with with-
“ out regret, I comforted myself with reflecting,
“ that by his going away to you, as it were,
“ to my second self, he both discharged his duty,
“ and pursued the surest path to glory. But so
“ much for that ”. I come now after a long
“ interval, to consider a certain Letter of yours,
“ in which, while you allow me to have done
“ well in many things, you find fault with me
“ for one ; that in conferring honors, I was too
“ free, and even prodigal. You charge me with
“ this ; others probably, with being too severe
“ in punishing, or you yourself perhaps with both :
“ if so, I desire that my judgment and sentiments
“ on each may be clearly explained to you : not
“ that I mean to justify myself by the authority of
“ Solon, the wisest of the seven, and the only
“ Legislator of them all ; who used to say, that,
“ the public weal was comprised in two things,
“ rewards and punishments ; in which, however,

“ as in every thing else, a certain medium and
“ temperament is to be observed. But it is not
“ my design at this time to discuss so great a
“ subject : I think it proper only, to open the
“ reasons of my votes and opinions in the Senate,
“ from the beginning of this war. After the death
“ of Cæsar, and those your memorable Ides of
“ March, you cannot forget, Brutus, what I
“ declared to have been omitted by you, and
“ what a tempest I foresaw hanging over the Re-
“ public : you had freed us from a great plague;
“ wiped off a great stain from the Roman people;
“ acquired to yourselves divine glory; yet all the
“ equipage and furniture of Kingly power was
“ left still to Lepidus and Antony; the one in-
“ constant, the other vicious; both of them afraid
“ of peace, and enemies to the public quiet.
“ While these men were eager to raise fresh dis-
“ turbances in the Republic, we had no guard
“ about us to oppose them; though the whole
“ City was eager and unanimous in asserting its
“ liberty : I was then thought too violent; while
“ you perhaps more wisely withdrew yourselves
“ from that city, which you had delivered, and
“ refused the help of all Italy, which offered to
“ arm itself in your cause. Wherefore when I saw
“ the city in the hands of traitors, oppressed by
“ the arms of Antony, and that neither you nor
“ Cassius could be safe in it; I thought it time for
“ me to quit it too : for a City overpowered by
“ traitors, without the means of relieving itself,
“ is a wretched spectacle : Yet my mind, always

“ the same, and ever fixed on the love of my
“ Country, could not bear the thought of leaving
“ it in it's distress : in the midst therefore of my
“ voyage to Greece, and in the very season of
“ the Etolian winds, when an uncommon South-
“ wind, as if displeased with my resolution, had
“ driven me back to Italy, I found you at Velia,
“ and was greatly concerned at it : for you were
“ retreating, Brutus ; were retreating, I say ;
“ since your Stoics will not allow their wise man
“ to fly. As soon as I came to Rome, I ex-
“ posed myself to the wickedness and rage of
“ Antony ; and when I had exasperated him
“ against me, began to enter into measures, in
“ the very manner of the Brutus, (for such are
“ peculiar to your blood) for delivering the Re-
“ public. I shall omit the long recital of what
“ followed, since it all relates to myself ; and ob-
“ serve only, that young Cæsar, by whom, if
“ we will confess the truth, we subsist at this day,
“ flowed from the source of my counsels. I decreed
“ him no honors, Brutus, but what were due ;
“ none but what were necessary : for as soon as
“ we began to recover any liberty, and before
“ the virtue of D. Brutus had yet shown itself so
“ far, that we could know its divine force ; and
“ while our whole defence was in the boy, who
“ repelled Antony from our necks ; what honor
“ was not really due to him ? though I gave him
“ nothing yet, but the praise of words ; and that
“ but moderate. I decreed him indeed a legal
“ command : which though it seemed honorable

“ to one of that age, was yet necessary to one
“ who had an army : for what is an army with-
“ out the command of it ? Philip voted him a
“ statue ; Servius the privilege of suing for offices
“ before the legal time ; which was shortened still
“ by Servilius : nothing was then thought too
“ much : but we are apt, I know not how, to
“ be more liberal in fear, than grateful in success.
“ When D. Brutus was delivered from the siege,
“ a day of all others the most joyous to the city,
“ which happened also to be his birth-day, I
“ decreed, that his name should be ascribed for
“ ever to that day in the public Kalendars. In
“ which I followed the example of our ancestors,
“ who paid the same honor to a woman, Larentia ;
“ at whose altar you Priests perform sacred rites
“ in the Velabrum : by giving this to D. Brutus,
“ my design was, to fix in the Kalendars a per-
“ petual memorial of a most acceptable victory :
“ but I perceived on that day, that there was
“ more malevolence than gratitude, in many of the
“ Senate. During these same days, I poured out
“ honors (since you will have it so) on the deceas-
“ ed Hirtius, Pansa and Aquila : and who can
“ find fault with it, but those who, when fear is
“ once over, forget their past danger ? But besides
“ the grateful remembrance of services, there was
“ an use in it, which reached to posterity : for I
“ was desirous, that there should remain an eternal
“ monument of the public hatred to our most
“ cruel enemies. There is one thing I doubt,
“ which does not please you ; for it does not

“ please your friends here; who, though ex-
“ cellent men, have but little experience in
“ public affairs; that I decreed an ovation to
“ Cæsar: but for my part, (though I may per-
“ haps be mistaken, for I am not one of
“ those, who approve nothing, but what is my
“ own;) I cannot but think, that I have advised
“ nothing more prudent during this war. Why it
“ is so, is not proper to be explained, lest I be
“ thought to have been more provident in it than
“ grateful: but even this is too much: let us pass
“ therefore to other things. I decreed honors to
“ D. Brutus; decreed them to Plancus: they must
“ be men of great souls who are attracted by glory:
“ but the Senate also is certainly wise, in trying
“ every art that is honest, by which it can engage
“ any one to the service of the Republic. But I
“ am blamed in the case of Lepidus: to whom
“ after I had raised a statue in the Rostra, I presently
“ threw it down. My view in that honor was,
“ to reclaim him from desperate measures; but the
“ madness of an inconstant man got the better of
“ my prudence; nor was there yet so much harm
“ in erecting, as good in demolishing the Statue.
“ But I have said enough concerning honors; and
“ must say a word or two about punishments: for
“ I have often observed from your Letters, that you
“ are fond of acquiring a reputation of clemency,
“ by your treatment of those whom you have
“ conquered in war. I can imagine nothing to be
“ done by you, but what is wisely done: but to
“ omit the punishing of wickedness (which we call

“pardoning) though it be tolerable in other cases,
“I hold to be pernicious in this war. Of all the
“civil wars that have been in my memory, there
“was not one, in which, what side soever got the
“better, there would not have remained some
“form of a Commonwealth: yet in this, what
“sort of a Republic we are like to have if we
“conquer, I would not easily affirm; but if we
“are conquered, we are sure to have none. My
“votes therefore were severe against Antony;
“severe against Lepidus: not from any spirit of
“revenge, but to deter wicked Citizens at present
“from making war against their Country; and to
“leave an example to posterity, that none hereafter
“should imitate such rashness. Yet this very vote
“was not more mine, than it was every body’s:
“in which there seems, I own, to be something
“cruel, that the punishment should reach to
“children, who have done nothing to deserve
“it: but the constitution is both ancient, and of
“all Cities; for even Themistocles’s children
“were reduced to want: and since the same
“punishment falls upon Citizens, condemned of
“public crimes, how was it possible for us to be
“more gentle towards enemies? But how can that
“man complain of me, who, if he had conquered,
“must needs confess that he would have treated
“me even with more severity? You have now
“the motives of my opinions in the case of
“rewards and punishments: for as to other
“points, you have heard, I imagine, what my
“sentiments and votes have been. But to talk

“ of these things now is not necessary ; what I am
“ going to say , is extremely so , Brutus ; that you
“ come to Italy with your army as soon as possible.
“ We are in the utmost expectation of you :
“ whenever you set foot in Italy , all the world
“ will fly to you : for whether it be our lot to
“ conquer , (as we had already done , if Lepidus
“ had not been desirous to overturn all , and perish
“ himself with his friends) there will be a great
“ want of your authority , for the settling some
“ state of a City amongst us ; or if there be any
“ danger and struggle still behind , hasten to us
“ for God’s sake : for you know , how much
“ depends on opportunity , how much on dispatch.
“ What diligence I shall use in the care of your
“ sister’s children , you will soon know , I hope ,
“ from your mother’s and sister’s Letters : in
“ whose cause I have more regard to your will ,
“ which is ever most dear to me , than , as some
“ think , to my own constancy ; but it is my
“ desire both to be , and to appear constant , in
“ nothing so much as in loving you ” . ”

Brutus to Cicero.

“ I have read a part of your Letter , which
“ you sent to Octavius , transmitted to me by
“ Atticus. Your zeal and concern for my safety
“ gives me no new pleasure : for it is not only
“ common , but our daily news , to hear something ,
“ which you have said or done with your usual
“ fidelity , in the support of my honor and dignity.

Yet

“ Yet that same part of your Letter affected me
“ with the most sensible grief, which my mind
“ could possibly receive. For you compliment
“ him so highly for his services to the Republic;
“ and in a strain so suppliant and abject; that,—
“ what shall I say? — I am ashamed of the
“ wretched state, to which we are reduced,—
“ yet it must be said — you recommend my safety
“ to him; to which what death is not preferable?
“ and plainly show, that our servitude is not yet
“ abolished, but our master only changed. Recollect
“ your words, and deny them, if you dare, to be
“ the prayers of a slave to his King. There is one
“ thing, you say, which is required and expected
“ from him, that he would allow those Citizens
“ to live in safety, of whom all honest men, and
“ the people of Rome think well. But what, if
“ he will not allow it? shall we be the less safe
“ for that? It is better not to be safe, than to be
“ saved by him. For my part, I can never think
“ all the Gods so averse to the preservation of the
“ Roman people, that Octavius must be entreated
“ for the life of any one Citizen; much less for the
“ deliverers of the world. It is a pleasure to me
“ to talk thus magnificently; and it even becomes
“ me to those, who know not either, what to
“ fear for any one, or what to ask of any one. Can
“ you allow Octavius to have this power, and
“ yet be his friend? or if you have any value for
“ me, would you wish to see me at Rome, when
“ I must first be recommended to the boy, that
“ he would permit me to be there? What reason

“ can you have to thank him, if you think it
“ necessary to beg of him, that he would grant
“ and suffer us to live with safety? or is it to
“ be reckoned a kindness, that he chuses to see
“ himself, rather than Antony, in the condition,
“ to have such petitions addressed to him? one
“ may supplicate indeed the successor, but never
“ the abolisher of a tyranny, that those, who
“ have deserved well of the Republic, may be
“ safe. It was this weakness and despair, not
“ more blameable indeed in you, than in all, which
“ first pushed Cæsar to the ambition of reigning;
“ and after his death, encouraged Antony
“ to think of seizing his place, and has now
“ raised this boy so high, that you judge it
“ necessary to address your prayers to him for
“ the preservation of men of our rank; and
“ that we can be saved only by the mercy of
“ one, scarce yet a man; and by no other means.
“ But if we had remembered ourselves to be
“ Romans, these infamous men would not be
“ more daring to aim at dominion, than we are to
“ repel it: nor would Antony be more encouraged
“ by Cæsar’s reign, than deterred by his
“ fate. How can you, a Consular Senator,
“ and the avenger of so many treasons, (by sup-
“ pressing which, you have but postponed our
“ ruin I fear, for a time,) reflect on what you
“ have done, and yet approve these things, or
“ bear them so tamely, as to seem at least to
“ approve them? for what particular grudge
“ had you to Antony? no other but that he

“ assumed all this to himself; that our lives
“ should be begged of him; our safety be pre-
“ carious, from whom he had received his li-
“ berty; and the Republic depend on his will
“ and pleasure. You thought it necessary to
“ take arms to prevent him from tyrannizing
“ at this rate: but was it your intent, that by
“ preventing him, we might sue to another,
“ who would suffer himself to be advanced into
“ his place, or that the Republic might be free
“ and mistress of itself? as if our quarrel was
“ not perhaps to slavery, but to the conditions
“ of it. But we might have had, not only
“ an easy master in Antony, if we would have
“ been content with that, but whatever share
“ with him we pleased, of favors and honors.
“ For what could he deny to those, whose pa-
“ tience, he saw, was the best support of his
“ government; but nothing was of such value
“ to us, that we should sell our faith and our
“ liberty for it. This very boy, whom the
“ name of Cæsar seems to incite against the de-
“ stroyers of Cæsar, at what rate would he value
“ it (if there was any room to traffic with him)
“ to be enabled by our help, to maintain his
“ present power; since we have a mind to live,
“ and to be rich, and to be called Consulars?
“ but then Cæsar must have perished in vain:
“ for what reason had we to rejoice at his death,
“ if, after it, we were still to continue slaves?
“ Let other people be as indolent as they please;
“ but may the Gods and Goddeses deprive me

“ sooner of every thing, than the resolution,
“ not to allow to the heir of him whom I
“ killed, what I did not allow to the man him-
“ self: nor would suffer, even in my Father,
“ were he living; to have more power than the
“ laws and the Senate. How can you imagine,
“ that any one can be free under him, without
“ whose leave there is no place for us in that
“ City? or how is it possible for you after all,
“ to obtain what you ask? You ask, that he
“ would allow us to be safe. Shall we then
“ receive safety, think you, when we receive
“ life? but how can we receive it, if we first
“ part with our honor and our liberty? Do
“ you fancy, that to live at Rome is to be safe?
“ It is the thing, and not the place, which
“ must secure them to me: for I was never safe,
“ while Cæsar lived, till I had resolved on that
“ attempt: nor can I in any place live in exile,
“ as long as I hate slavery and affronts above
“ all other evils. Is not this to fall back again
“ into the same state of darkness; when he,
“ who has taken upon him the name of the ty-
“ rant, (though in the Cities of Greece, when
“ the Tyrants are destroyed, their children also
“ perish with them,) must be entreated, that
“ the avengers of tyranny may be safe? Can I
“ ever wish to see that City, or think it a City,
“ which would not accept liberty when offered,
“ and even forced upon it, but has more dread
“ of the name of their late King, in the person of
“ a boy, than confidence in itself; though it has

“ seen that very King taken off in the height of
“ all his power by the virtue of a few? As for
“ me, do not recommend me any more to your
“ Cæsar, nor indeed yourself, if you will hearken
“ to me. You set a very high value on the few
“ years, which remain to you at that age, if for
“ the sake of them you can supplicate that boy.
“ But take care after all, lest what you have done
“ and are doing so laudably against Antony,
“ instead of being praised, as the effect of a great
“ mind, be charged to the account of your fear.
“ For if you are so pleased with Octavius, as to
“ petition him for our safety, you will be thought
“ not to have disliked a Master, but to have
“ wanted a more friendly one. As to your praising
“ him for the things, that he has hitherto done,
“ I entirely approve it: for they deserved to be
“ praised, provided that he undertook them, to
“ repel other men’s power, not to advance his
“ own. But when you adjudge him, not only to
“ have this power, but that you ought to submit
“ to it so far, as to entreat him that he would
“ not destroy us; you pay him too great a
“ recompence: for you ascribe that very thing to
“ him, which the Republic seemed to enjoy
“ through him: nor does it ever enter into your
“ thoughts, that if Octavius be worthy of any
“ honors, because he wages war with Antony;
“ that those, who extirpated the very evil, of
“ which these are but the relics, can never be
“ sufficiently requited by the Roman people;
“ though they were to heap upon them every

“ thing which they could bestow : but see how
“ much stronger people’s fears are , than their
“ memories , because Antony still lives , and is in
“ arms. As to Cæsar , all that could and ought to
“ be done , is past , and cannot be recalled : is
“ Octavius then a person of so great importance ,
“ that the people of Rome are to expect from
“ him , what he will determine upon us ? or are
“ we of so little , that any single man is to be
“ entreated for our safety ? As for me , may I
“ never return to you , if ever I either supplicate
“ any man , or do not restrain those , who are
“ disposed to do it , from supplicating for them-
“ selves : or I will remove to a distance from all
“ such , who can be slaves , and fancy myself at
“ Rome , wherever I can live free ; and shall pity
“ you , whose fond desire of life , neither age ,
“ nor honors , nor the example of other men’s
“ virtue can moderate. For my part , I shall ever
“ think myself happy , as long as I can please
“ myself with the persuasion , that my piety has
“ been fully requited. For what can be happier ,
“ than for a man , conscious of virtuous acts ,
“ and content with liberty , to despise all human
“ affairs ? yet I will never yield to those , who are
“ fond of yielding , or be conquered by those ,
“ who are willing to be conquered themselves ;
“ but will first try and attempt every thing ; nor
“ ever desist from dragging our City out of slavery.
“ If such fortune attends , as I ought to have , we
“ shall all rejoice : If not , I shall rejoice myself.
“ For how could this life be spent better , than in

“ acts and thoughts, which tend to make my
“ Countrymen free? I beg and beseech you, Cicero,
“ not to desert the cause through weariness or
“ diffidence: in repelling present evils, have your
“ eye always on the future, lest they insinuate
“ themselves before you are aware. Consider that
“ the fortitude and courage, with which you
“ delivered the Republic, when Consul, and
“ now again when Consular, are nothing without
“ constancy and equability. The case of tried
“ virtue, I own, is harder than of untried: we
“ require services from it, as debts; and if any
“ thing disappoints us, we blame with resentment,
“ as if we had been deceived. Wherefore for
“ Cicero to withstand Antony, though it be a part
“ highly commendable, yet because such a Consul
“ seemed of course to promise us such a Consular,
“ no body wonders at it: but if the same Cicero,
“ in the case of others, should waver at last in
“ that resolution, which he exerted with such
“ firmness and greatness of mind against Antony,
“ he would deprive himself, not only of the hopes
“ of future glory, but forfeit even that which is
“ past: for nothing is great in itself, but what
“ flows from the result of our judgment: nor does
“ it become any man, more than you, to love
“ the Republic, and to be the Patron of liberty,
“ on the account either of your natural talents,
“ or your former acts, or the wishes and expecta-
“ tion of all men. Octavius therefore must not be
“ entreated, to suffer us to live in safety. Do you
“ rather rouse yourself so far, as to think that

“ City in which you have acted the noblest part,
“ free and flourishing, as long as there are Leaders
“ still to the people, to resist the designs of
“ Traitors ”.

If we compare these two Letters, we shall perceive in Cicero's an extensive view and true judgment of things, tempered with the greatest politeness and affection for his friend, and an unwillingness to disgust where he thought it necessary even to blame. In Brutus's a churlish and morose arrogance, claiming infinite honors to himself, yet allowing none to any body else; insolently chiding and dictating to one, as much superior to him in wisdom as he was in years; the whole turning upon that romantic maxim of the Stoics, enforced without any regard to times and circumstances: that a wise man has a sufficiency of all things within himself. There are indeed many noble sentiments in it worthy of old Rome, which Cicero in a proper season would have recommended as warmly as he; yet they were not principles to act upon in a conjuncture so critical; and the rigid application of them is the less excusable in Brutus, because he himself did not always practice what he professed; but was too apt to forget both the Stoic and the Roman.

Octavius had no sooner settled the affairs of the City, and subdued the Senate to his mind, than he marched back towards Gaul, to meet Antony and Lepidus; who had already passed the Alps, and brought their armies into Italy, in order to have a personal interview with him; which had

been privately concerted, for settling the terms of a triple league, and dividing the power and provinces of the Empire among themselves. All the three were natural enemies to each other; Competitors for Empire; and aiming severally to possess, what could not be obtained but with the ruin of the rest: their meeting therefore was not to establish any real amity or lasting concord, for that was impossible, but to suspend their own quarrels for the present, and with common forces to oppress their common enemies, the friends of liberty and the Republic; without which all their several hopes and ambitious views must inevitably be blasted.

The place appointed for the interview, was a small Island, abut two miles from Bononia, formed by the river Rhenus, which runs near to that City: here they met, as men of their character must necessarily meet, not without jealousy and suspicion of danger from each other, being all attended by their choicest troops, each with five Legions, disposed in separate camps within sight of the Island. Lepidus entered it the first, as an equal friend to the other two, to see that the place was clear, and free from treachery; and when he had given the signal agreed upon, Antony and Octavius advanced from the opposite banks of the river, and passed into the Island by bridges, which they left guarded on each side by three hundred of their own men. Their first care instead of embracing, was to search one another, whether they had not brought daggers concealed under

their clothes; and when that ceremony was over, Octavius took his seat betwixt the other two, in the most honorable place, on the account of his being Consul.

In this situation they spent three days in a close conference, to adjust the plan of their accommodation, the substance of which was that the Three should be invested jointly with supreme power for the term of five years, with the title of Triumvirs, for settling the state of the Republic: that they should act in all cases by common consent, nominate the Magistrates and Governors both at home and abroad, and determine all affairs relating to the public by their sole will and pleasure: that Octavius should have for his peculiar province, Africa with Sicily, Sardinia, and the other Islands of the Mediterranean; Lepidus, Spain, with the Narboneſe Gaul; Antony, the other two Gauls on both ſides of the Alps: and to put them all upon a level, both in title and authority, that Octavius ſhould reſign the Conſulſhip to Ventidius for the remainder of the year: that Antony and Octavius ſhould proſecute the war againſt Brutus and Caſſius, each of them at the head of twenty Legions; and Lepidus with three Legions be left to guard the City: and at the end of the war, that eighteen Cities or Colonies, the beſt and richeſt of Italy, together with their lands and diſtricts, ſhould be taken from their owners, and aſſigned to the perpetual poſſeſſion of the ſoldiers, as the reward of their faithful ſervices. Theſe conditions were publiſhed to their ſeveral armies, and received by

them with acclamations of joy, and mutual gratulations for this happy union of their Chiefs; which at the desire of the soldiers was ratified likewise by a marriage, agreed to be consummated between Octavius and Claudia, the daughter of Antony's wife Fulvia, by her first husband P. Clodius.

The last thing that they adjusted, was the list of a proscription, which they were determined to make of their enemies. This, as the writers tell us, occasioned much difficulty and warm contests among them; till each of them, in his turn, consented to sacrifice some of his best friends to the revenge and resentment of his Colleagues. The whole list is said to have consisted of three hundred Senators, and two thousand Knights; all doomed to die for a crime the most unpardonable to Tyrants, their adherence to the cause of liberty. They reserved the publication of the general list to their arrival at Rome, excepting only a few of the most obnoxious; the Heads of the Republican party, about seventeen in all: the chief of whom was Cicero. These they marked out for immediate destruction; and sent their Emissaries away directly to surprise and murder them, before any notice could reach them of their danger: four of this number were presently taken and killed in the company of their friends; and the rest hunted out by the soldiers in private houses and temples; which presently filled the City with an universal terror and consternation, as if it had been taken by an enemy: so that the Consul Pedius was forced

to run about the streets all the night, to quiet the minds and appease the fears of the people; and as soon as it was light published the names of the seventeen, who were principally fought for, with an assurance of safety and indemnity to all others: but he himself was so shocked and fatigued by the horror of this night's work, that he died the day following *.

We have no hint from any of Cicero's Letters (for none remain to us of so low a date) what his sentiments were on this interview of the three Chiefs; or what resolution he had taken in consequence of it. He could not but foresee that it must needs be fatal to him, if it passed to the satisfaction of Antony and Lepidus; for he had several times declared, that he expected the last severity from them, if ever they got the better. But whatever he had cause to apprehend, it is certain that it was still in his power to avoid it, by going over to Brutus in Macedonia: but he seems to have thought that remedy worse than the evil; and had so great an abhorrence of entering again, in his advanced age, into a civil war, and so little value for the few years of life which remained to him, that he declares it a thousand times better to die, than to seek his safety from camps *: and he was the more indifferent about what might happen to himself, since his son was removed from all immediate danger, by being already with Brutus.

The old Historians endeavour to persuade us,

that Cæsar did not give him up to the revenge of his Colleagues without the greatest reluctance, and after a struggle of two days to preserve him⁵⁴: but all that tenderness was artificial, and a part assumed to give the better color to his desertion of him. For Cicero's death was the natural effect of their union, and a necessary sacrifice to the common interest of the Three: those who met to destroy liberty, must come determined to destroy him; since his authority was too great to be suffered in an enemy; and experience had shown, that nothing could make him a friend to the oppressors of his country.

Cæsar therefore was pleased with it undoubtedly, as much as the rest; and when his pretended squeamishness was over-ruled, showed himself more cruel and bloody in urging the Proscription, than either of the other two⁵⁵. Nothing, says Velleius, was so shameful on this occasion, as that Cæsar should be forced to proscribe any man; or that Cicero especially should be proscribed by him⁵⁶. But there was no force in the case: for though, to save Cæsar's honor, and to extort, as it were, Cicero from him, Lepidus gave up his own brother, Paullus; and Antony his uncle, L. Cæsar, who were both actually put into the list; yet neither of them lost their lives, but were protected from any harm by the power of their relations⁵⁷.

If we look back a little, to make a general view of the conduct of these Triumvirs, we shall see Antony roused at once by Cæsar's death from the

midst of pleasure and debauch, and a most abject obsequiousness to Cæsar's power, forming the true plan of his interest, and pursuing it with a surprising vigor and address; till after many and almost insuperable difficulties, he obtained the sovereign dominion, which he aimed at. Lepidus was the chief instrument that he made use of; whom he employed very successfully at home, till he found himself in condition to support his pretensions alone, and then sent to the other side of the Alps, that in case of any disaster in Italy, he might be provided with a secure resource in his army. By this management he had ordered his affairs so artfully, that by conquering at Modena, he would have made himself probably the sole Master of Rome; while the only difference of being conquered, was to admit two partners with him into the Empire; the one of whom at least he was sure always to govern.

Octavius's conduct was not less politic or vigorous: he had great parts, and an admirable genius, with a dissimulation sufficient to persuade that he had good inclinations too. As his want of years and authority made it impossible for him to succeed immediately to his Uncle's power, so his first business was, to keep the place vacant till he should be more ripe for it; and to give the exclusion in the mean while to every body else. With this view he acted the Republican with great gravity; put himself under the direction of Cicero; and was wholly governed by his advice, as far as his interest carried him; that is, to depress Antony,

and drive him out of Italy; who was his immediate and most dangerous rival. Here he stopt short, and paused a while, to consider what new measures this new state of things would suggest: when by the unexpected death of the two Consuls, finding himself at once the master of every thing at home, and Antony, by the help of Lepidus, rising again the stronger from his fall, he saw presently that his best chance for Empire was to content himself with a share of it, till he should be in condition to seize the whole; and from the same policy with which he joined himself with the Republic to destroy Antony, he now joined with Antony to oppress the Republic, as the best means of securing and advancing his own power.

Lepidus was the Dupe of them both; a vain, weak, inconstant man; incapable of Empire, yet aspiring to the possession of it; and abusing the most glorious opportunity of serving his Country, to the ruin both of his Country and himself. His wife was the Sister of M. Brutus, and his true interest lay in adhering to that alliance: for if, by the advice of Laterensis, he had joined with Plancus and D. Brutus to oppress Antony, and give liberty to Rome, the merit of that service, added to the dignity of his family and fortunes, would necessarily have made him the first Citizen of a free Republic. But his weakness deprived him of that glory: he flattered himself, that the first share of power, which he seemed at present to possess, would give him likewise the first share

of Empire: not considering that military power depends on the reputation and abilities of him who possesses it: in which, as his Colleagues far excelled him, so they would be sure always to eclipse, and whenever they thought it proper, to destroy him. This he found afterwards to be the case: when Cæsar forced him to beg his life upon his knees, though at the head of twenty Legions; and deposed him from that dignity, which he knew not how to sustain⁸⁸.

Cicero was at his Tusculan Villa, with his Brother and Nephew, when he first received the news of the Proscription, and of their being included in it. It was the design of the Triumvirate to keep it a secret, if possible, to the moment of execution; in order to surprise those, whom they had destined to destruction, before they were aware of the danger, or had time to escape. But some of Cicero's friends found means to give him early notice of it; upon which he set forward presently with his Brother and Nephew towards Astura; the nearest Villa which he had upon the sea: with intent to transport themselves directly out of the reach of their enemies. But Quintus being wholly unprepared for so sudden a voyage, resolved to turn back with his son to Rome, in confidence of lying concealed there, till they could provide money and necessaries for their support abroad. Cicero in the mean while found a vessel ready for him at Astura, in which he presently embarked: but the winds being cross and turbulent, and the sea wholly uneasy to him, after he had
failed

sailed about two leagues along the coast, he landed
 at Circaëum, and spent a night near that place
 in great anxiety and irresolution: the question was,
 what course he should steer; and whether he should
 fly to Brutus, or to Cassius, or to S. Pompeius;
 but after all his deliberations, none of them pleased
 him so much as the expedient of dying": so that,
 as Plutarch says, he had some thoughts of return-
 ing to the City, and killing himself in Cæsar's
 house; in order to leave the guilt and curse of
 his blood upon Cæsar's perfidy and ingratitude:
 but the importunity of his servants prevailed with
 him to sail forwards to Cajeta; where he went
 again on shore, to repose himself in his Formian
 Villa, about a mile from the coast; weary of life
 and the sea; and declaring, that he would die in
 that Country, which he had so often saved".
 Here he slept soundly for several hours; though,
 as some writers tell us, "a great number of Crows
 " were fluttering all the while, and making a
 " strange noise about his windows, as if to rouse
 " and warn him of his approaching fate: and that
 " one of them made its way into the chamber,
 " and pulled away his very bed-clothes; till his
 " slaves, admonished by this prodigy, and
 " ashamed to see brute creatures more solicit-
 " ous for his safety than themselves, forced him
 " into his Litter, or portable Chair," and carried
 him away towards the ship, through the private
 ways and walks of his woods; having just heard
 that soldiers were already come into the country
 in quest of him, and not far from the Villa. As

soon as they were gone, the soldiers arrived at the house: and perceiving him to be fled, pursued immediately towards the sea, and overtook him in the wood. Their Leader was one Popilius Lænus, a Tribune, or Colonel of the army, whom Cicero had formerly defended and preserved in a capital cause. As soon as the soldiers appeared, the servants prepared themselves to fight, being resolved to defend their master's life at the hazard of their own: but Cicero commanded them to set him down, and to make no resistance⁷¹: then looking upon his executioners with a presence and firmness, which almost daunted them, and thrusting his neck, as forwardly as he could, out of the Litter, he bad them do their work, and take what they wanted: upon which they presently cut off his head and both his hands, and returned with them in all haste and great joy towards Rome, as the most agreeable present which they could possibly carry to Antony. Popilius charged himself with the conveyance, without reflecting on the infamy of carrying that head, which had saved his own⁷²: he found Antony in the Forum, surrounded with guards and crowds of people; but upon showing from a distance the spoils which he brought, he was rewarded upon the spot with the honor of a Crown, and about eight thousand pounds sterling. Antony ordered the head to be fixed upon the Rostra, between the two hands: a sad spectacle to the City; and what drew tears from every eye; to see those mangled members, which used to exert themselves so gloriously

from that place, in defence of the lives, the fortunes, and the liberties of the Roman people, so lamentably exposed to the scorn of Sycophants and Traitors. The deaths of the rest, says a Historian of that age, caused only a private and particular sorrow; but Cicero's an universal one": it was a triumph over the Republic itself; and seemed to confirm and establish the perpetual slavery of Rome. Antony considered it as such, and satiated with Cicero's blood, declared the Proscription at an end.

He was killed on the seventh of December; about ten days from the settlement of the Triumvirate: after he had lived sixty-three years, eleven months, and five days".